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RED MENACE IN KASHMIR

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Red Menace in Kashmir

Towards the close of the year 1947, soon after the partition of the Indian subcontinent, Kashmir witnessed an upheaval of the biggest magnitude. The all-absorbing question whether the State should accede to India or form part of Pakistan created a serious situation, thanks to the wrong approach to the problem by Maharaja Hari Singh and his short-sighted advisers. The Dogra ruler, without first ascertaining the wishes of the State people on the question of accession through the method of a fair plebiscite as was persistently demanded by most of the principal political parties in the State, took the fatal decision of throwing in his lot with India and consequently signed the Instrument of Accession.

The despotic action of the Maharaja paved way for a violent civil war in the country. The overwhelming majority of the State people under the leadership and guidance of the Kisan Mazdoor Conference, the Kashmir Socialist Party and the Muslim Conference refused to accept the decision of the Dogra autocrat and rose in revolt against him. Only the Kashmir National Conference and the Kashmir Rajya Hindu Sabha which was subsequently reborn as Praja Parishad lent their support to him. Demonstrations and counter-demonstrations made the already explosive atmosphere highly dangerous in the State with the result that political disturbances and communal riots broke out on a large-scale. Besides, the Dogra ruler's action further intensified the feelings of estrangement that already existed between India and Pakistan. From the north-west warlike and pugnacious Muslim tribesmen entered the State to help their co-religionists. Subsequently the entire State became a battlefield with the armies of India and Pakistan measuring strength with each other.

Maharaja Hari Singh needed men to suppress the mounting wave of opposition to the Dogra despotism in the State. The Kashmir National Conference, under the leadership of Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, came to his rescue. So in October, 1947, Hari Singh transferred governmental power into the hands of the Nationalists and Sheikh Abdullah became the Head of the Emergency Administration. Immediately after, ruthless persecution of Kashmiris, who defied the Dogra ruler and opposed his unwise step to accede to India in utter disregard of their wishes, started in the Valley. Thousands of prominent leaders and workers of the Muslim Conference, the Kisan Mazdoor Conference and the Kashmir Socialist Party were lashed into prison and the journals representing their viewpoints were either suppressed or muzzled. Only the pro-India elements and significantly enough the Communists were left untouched.

Infiltration Drive

The Communists had always an eye on Kashmir. They want the State to be a strong Russian base from where they can strike at the Indo-Pak subcontinent when the time is ripe. With this object in view they appeared on the political scene of Kashmir as early as in 1937. That year the Punjab Reds, under instructions from their Indian comrades who visited the State from time to time and had lengthy discussions with Sheikh Abdullah and his colleagues, forged alliance with the National Conference which then was the most popular and influential political party of the State. The idea was, as became evident subsequently, to infiltrate into the ranks of the Conference and to ultimately capture it.

To what extent the Reds succeeded in influencing the programme of the National Conference in years to follow till the year 1947 when the Kashmir war started, is reflected, firstly, in the NEW KASHMIR plan the greater part of which is based and modelled on Communist doctrines and which professedly still continues to be the objective of the Nationalist Party and, secondly, in the QUIT KASHMIR adventure in 1946 against the Dogra Maharaja which, however, ended in a fiasco. It is true that the stiff resistance offered by Kashmir democrats went a long way in foiling the mischievous plans of the Reds, but it is beyond doubt that

they were steadily, though slowly, capturing the National Conference.

The year 1947 materially altered the complexion of things in Kashmir. Soon after coming to power the first Nationalist Government of Kashmir, headed by Sheikh Abdullah, let loose a reign of terror in the Valley and embarked upon a campaign of merciless suppression of democrats and freedom lovers in the State. The Communists who had been anxiously waiting for an opportunity like this did not fail to avail of it to their best advantage. In accordance with their policy of infiltration they put into full operation their plan of capturing the National Conference and through it the State administration. They were successful in securing some of the most important posts in the higher strata of the administration. Khwaja Ghulam Mohammed Sadiq, a noted Communist of Kashmir, became the Development Minister of the State. The Reds got some of the key posts in the Kashmir Civil Secretariat as well. Mr. B.P.L. Bedi, then a prominent Communist leader of India, became the Head of the Counter-Propaganda Department of the State. His wife, Freda, got a seat on the State Text Book Committee which prescribed curricula for State educational institutions and which got books prepared and published for students up to the matriculation standard in Government Schools.

The Communists and fellow travellers joined the National Militia, the Home Guards and the so-called Peace Brigade in large numbers. Khwaja Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din Kara, then a known Communist, organised the National Militia. A large portion of arms and ammunition, liberally distributed by the Nationalist Government among its adherents ostensibly to fight the tribesmen but in fact to coerce political opponents into submission, came into the hands of the Reds and these are reported to be lying intact in the store-house of the Kashmir Communist party.

Before October, 1947, Srinagar, the capital city, had a Progressive Writers League to which were attached literary persons and liberal intellectuals of the State espousing different political views. But in the new set-up of things this could not be tolerated. So under the guidance of Khwaja Ghulam Mohammed Sadiq the League was converted into the National Cultural Front to be

financed by the Government. Those of the writers and poets who did not subscribe to the Communist doctrines were thrown out and some of them arrested. Under the auspices of the Cultural Front dramatic parties were organised and volumes of literature issued and distributed. In cities, towns and big villages dramas depicting scenes of Russian Revolution and painting democracies in dark colours began to be enacted. Literature began to be widely distributed extolling post-Revolution achievements of Russia and denouncing Western Powers as war mongers, exploiters of humanity and enemies of Kashmir State.

The Reds got full freedom to express themselves through Press and on platform. They started newspapers such as NOOR, NAI LAHAR, MASHAL, KUNG POSH and AZAD; opened reading rooms and bookshops in different parts of the State to preach their politics.

In 1950 the Communists launched the so-called peace offensive in the same manner as they have been doing in Soviet Russia and her satellite countries. Khwaja Ghulam Mohammed Sadiq patronised and organised "peace conferences" which were held in the State. In order to keep in close touch with Communist countries accredited representatives were and continue to be sent there. Pandit Dina Nath Nadim, a Kashmiri poet, and Pandit Pran Nath Jalali were among those who were sent on a special mission to Red China, Czechoslovakia and other Communist countries.

Unholy Alliance

Things went on smoothly for some time as far as the unholy alliance between the Nationalists and the Communists was concerned. It was unholy because it was directed against the freedom of Kashmir. The reasons which contributed to the conclusion of this alliance are not far to seek.

In 1947 the Kashmir Nationalists were favoured with governmental power. But the question how to retain it permanently all along vexed them. The accession issue had assumed utmost importance. Pakistan seemed in no way prepared to relinquish her claim over the State. Kashmiris were sullen and rebellious. This made the Nationalists uneasy. The mounting wave of opposition inside the State was tormenting. The prospects of a peaceful solu-

tion of the Kashmir tangle which at times appeared to be bright added to their worries. The steady though small progress in the direction of the solution of the accession issue brought about through the mediation of the U. N. Representatives confirmed the fears of the Nationalists that India and Pakistan could any day come to terms on Kashmir leaving them to pay a heavy price for their treachery to their country. Naturally they always found the ground shaky under their feet and even the presence of huge Indian armies on the soil of the State did not alleviate their anxiety on this score.

So the Nationalists needed some ally to help them retain power if and when it was seriously threatened. They had completely alienated the sympathy and support of Kashmiris. The question of a compromise with Pakistan was unthinkable. The only alternative left with them, therefore, was to turn their eyes towards the North. The Reds were already eager for a closer alliance with the Nationalists for reasons already stated. They assured the Nationalists that they would stand by them in distress and the latter could well count upon the armed support of Red China when it was needed. For these reasons the alliance was cemented. Sheikh Abdullah and his colleagues at that time little thought of the consequences that were bound to flow from such an action.

The Government and the people of India could not but watch these developments in Kashmir as helpless spectators. Though the Indian Government did not look with favour at the activities of Communists in India and in certain cases took measures against them yet it could not take any effective action against them inside the State. The Indian Government is paramount in Kashmir affairs as it is in those of any other State in the Union. Yet it could do precious little to stop Reds from spreading their tentacles under the fostering care of the Nationalist regime. It looks paradoxical but those who care to examine the present Kashmir problem in its true perspective can hardly fail to understand the reasons responsible for Indian Government's helpless attitude. The Communists are the only prop of the Nationalist Government and under the given circumstances India could not object to the alliance. Had she objected she would have courted the displeasure of the Nationalists through whose instrumentality the Indian

Armies had been able to set their feet on the soil of the State. India was not prepared to take any chances by forcing the Nationalists to adopt an attitude of non-co-operation if not of hostility.

The Rift

In 1947-48 the Reds wanted that Kashmir should neither join India nor accede to Pakistan. They thought that both India and Pakistan were steadily going into the lap of the Anglo-American bloc and so long as Kashmir remained under the suzerainty of either the one or the other the chances of their success in the matter of turning the State into their stronghold were slender. Their objective could be realized only if the State was kept far away from the influences of India and Pakistan. This could be done only by securing an independent status for the State. So the idea of an "Independent Kashmir" was conceived.

It was fairly known to the Communists that the Muslim Nationalists of Kashmir were sceptical of the intentions of India; that they had antagonised Pakistan to such an extent that any deal with that country was out of the question. Therefore if an alternate solution in the shape of an "Independent Kashmir" was placed before the Nationalists it would be readily acceptable to them. The Kashmir Reds discussed the proposal with the Nationalists and they were heartened to find it evoking a quick response.

Sheikh Abdullah raised for the first time the slogan of "Independent Kashmir" in May 1949 in course of an interview with a British correspondent. The Indian Government, however, acted promptly and pulled him up for his change of front. The Communists who initiated the move did not press the matter and tactfully avoided a clash with the Nationalist leader.

This development, however, alerted the Indian Government. It began to feel distressed about the reports of the increasing influence of Communists in Kashmir. There were fairly reliable reports that the Government of India took every occasion to indicate its concern. Sheikh Abdullah was once again on the horns of a dilemma. He could not at one and the same time please both, the Indian Government and the Communists. But a quick decision was demanded and he decided to cast his lot with the former. That was perhaps the only wise step he could take

under the circumstances. In 1950 his attitude towards the Communists underwent a perceptible change. He administered a warning to Kashmir Communists against their disruptive activities. Addressing the workers of the National Conference in Srinagar he gave Communists to understand that the National Conference would not tolerate any such persons in its ranks who did not strictly adhere to its policy and programme. A sterner warning was given by Maulvi Mohammed Syeed, General Secretary of the Conference, to the same effect.

This was what marked the beginning of the rift between Sheikh Abdullah and the Communists. The latter's confidence in the former was shaken. They now no longer trusted him and thought him undependable. So they began to draw plans to bring about his exit from the Government. As a first step towards this they concentrated their activities on building formidable opposition to Sheikh Abdullah within the National Conference. They needed power-hungry Nationalist leaders to help them to overthrow the Sheikh. And there was no dearth of Nationalists who readily placed their services at their disposal provided it brought them power. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammed was the foremost among such power-hungry men.

In their bid to oust Sheikh Abdullah the Kashmir Communists characteristically were prepared even to join hands with fire-brand communalists. In Jammu the Praja Parishad, a militant Hindu organisation, was already challenging the authority of the Abdullah Government. With a view to force the hands of the Sheikh and to bring about his downfall the Communists offered their services to the Praja Parishad. In their characteristic unscrupulous manner they did not mind to support the Parishad move for "Independent Jammu" which, only a few months before, they had denounced as a dangerous movement of feudal elements sponsored and engineered by the Western Powers. Late Comrade Dhanwantary publicly declared Communist Party's full support to the move. The Democratic Youth League was formed to boost up opposition to Abdullah. As subsequent events showed the downfall of the Sheikh was largely the result of what happened in Jammu.

Sheikh Abdullah's Downfall

Meanwhile, with the passage of time the contradictions in the National Conference politics became more and more pronounced. Developments inside the State and in India sharpened the differences and the National Conference became a house divided against itself. In May 1953 the dissensions came to the surface and the two rival groups openly clashed. Sheikh Abdullah suddenly flung a surprise by declaring, quite contrary to what he had time and again stated before, that Kashmiris had yet to decide their fate. Previously he had stated that the question of Kashmir's accession to Pakistan did not at all arise but now he said different things. He declared that it was open to Kashmiris even to join Pakistan if they so chose. He, however, hinted upon the idea of independence for Kashmir but it certainly did not fit in with the scheme of things as conceived by the Communists. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammed, on the other hand, declared that Kashmir was an integral part of India and no power on earth could wrest her from India's hands. This open cleavage brought the matters to a crisis.

While the events inside the State were moving fast the split within the National Conference was widening. Khwaja Ghulam Mohammed Sadiq was always there to fan the fire of discord. The Indian Government, annoyed at the stupidities of Abdullah, helplessly accorded its preference to the Bakhshi-Sadiq group. The stage was, therefore, set for the exit of the Sheikh from the Government which he had headed for about six years. He was dismissed and arrested on 9th August, 1953 along with a number of his colleagues. The Sadar-i-Riyasat, Yuvraj Karan Singh, installed Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammed in the seat of power as the second Nationalist Prime Minister of the State. The perfidious Communist clique was strengthened in local politics and its machinations and intrigues had borne fruit.

Simultaneously with the Ministerial reshuffle disturbances on a wide scale broke out in the Valley and in the clashes that followed scores of freedom loving Kashmiris fell victim to the *lathis* and bullets of the Bakhshi Government. The new regime set in motion its entire administrative machinery and intensified the campaign of suppression and repression resulting in the imprisonment of promi-

nent leaders and workers of all opposition parties in the Valley including all the liberals, democrats and those who were repeatedly exposing the anti-State and anti-freedom conspiracies of the Communists.

Rise of Communism

With the coming into power of the Bakhshi Government the situation in the State has taken a new turn. Reds today dominate the political scene in Kashmir.

Khwaja Ghulam Mohammed Sadiq, the principal plotter and largely responsible for the overthrow of the Abdullah Government, is now in the State Cabinet holding a rank only next to that of Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammed. In the Cabinet he is reinforced by four of his close comrades—Syed Mir Qasim, L. Girdhari Lal Dogra, Kh. Ghulam Rasool Renzoo and Pandit Durga Prasad Dhar whose Communist affiliations were never in doubt. Syed Qasim handles the portfolio of Revenue whereas Mr. Dhar is in charge of the portfolio for law and order. About a dozen prominent Communists are in the Kashmir Civil Secretariat some of them holding key positions. A larger number has infiltrated into the subordinate ranks especially after the recent upheaval.

The Kashmir Reds have infiltrated into the ranks of the National Conference in an appreciable number, the aim still being to fully capture it. As a result of their sustained efforts, patient waiting and secret manoeuvrings no less than the governmental support the Communists have today captured some of the key offices in the National Conference. In the city of Srinagar many of the National Conference Committees are to all intents and purposes dominated by them. Of the two districts of Anantnag and Baramulla the affairs of the former are entirely in the hands of the Communists like Manohar Lal Karihaloo, Rishi Dev and Abdul Rahman Rahat. In short, Reds have fruitfully entrenched themselves in the southern district and are now engaged in extending their hold over the northern part of the Valley.

Whereas freedom of Press is totally denied to all political opponents particularly to democratic parties which, unlike Communists, detest violence in every shape and form, the Reds have

perfect liberty to propagate their views through the columns of their journals like AZAD, MASHAL, NAI LAHAR and NOOR. It is open to them to import literature from Russia, and other Communist countries and distribute it among the State people. This is in striking contrast to the imposition of ban on entry into the State of some of the Indian and almost all Pakistan newspapers. More than thirty newspapers of the State advocating the cause of democracy have been suppressed in the Valley since 1947.

The Reds have freedom to preach their mission in open public meetings as well, a right denied to all those who do not see eye to eye with the present Government either on the question of accession or on matters of international or local importance. Even such Indian Communist leaders as are looked upon with grave suspicion in their own country are free to attend these meetings and indulge in slanderous condemnation of their political rivals. Their visits to the State are frequent. As a result of this freedom coupled with the ruthless suppression of the democratic forces in the State a number of Communist-dominated "peace committees" have sprung up in almost all parts of the Valley. It is being persistently dinned into the ears of the impoverished, helpless people—helpless due to unsettled accession issue—that only the Communists can deliver the goods and can liberate them from bondage.

With the blessings of the State Education Ministry controlled by Sadiq the Communists have begun to devote necessary attention to the task of indoctrinating the student community. Lectures are organised in colleges and schools, the principal speakers invariably being the Communists. Literature acclaiming the achievements of Communist countries particularly in the economic sphere is widely distributed in State's educational institutions. The Kashmir Government has now appointed a committee with Sadiq as its President to formulate policy with regard to the preparation and revision of text books for educational institutions in the State. Most of the members of this committee are either Communists or fellow-travellers. Efforts are being made to secure the services of a prominent Communist educationist of India to advise the committee and assist it in the discharge of its duties.

Several social service camps have been started at a number of places in the State in both the provinces of Jammu and Kashmir. Though it is stated that these camps have been organised with a view to infuse and cultivate the spirit of self-help and the sense of self-confidence in the youth of the State the fact is that these camps have become cells of indoctrination for the Communists. Young boys and girls are admitted to these camps and the main theme of studies and lectures therein is :

> "We will make India and Kashmir like Russia and China.
> We shall march to the goal of freedom with the might of
> these powerful friends of the working classes of the world."

The camps are manned by some of the experienced Indian Communists and are flooded with all sorts of Communist literature. Prominent Communists are invited to address the students. It is part of their programme to condemn the Western Powers and make the students believe that the entire responsibility for the present misfortunes of the State people lies on the shoulders of these Powers. Pandit Nehru and other Congress leaders are the constant target of attack. Sometimes even Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammed is also not spared. The subjects discussed in these camps include the inefficiency of the Congress Governments and the corruption in the administration in India. Side by side glowing pictures are drawn of the Communist rule in Russia, China and the East European countries attached to the Soviet bloc.

Recently a Bombay journal made sensational disclosures about the working of one of these camps which has been opened at Bandhwal Rakh, seven miles away from Jammu.

Having consolidated their position the Kashmir Communists have now begun to apply their heart and soul to the task of villifying and condemning the democratic powers in a sustained manner. The idea is firstly to prejudice the chances of a peaceful and speedy solution of the accession issue so that Reds get still more time to firmly establish themselves on the soil of the State and secondly to win support for U. S. S. R. Denunciation of Western Powers need not always be a sin but it certainly reveals an attitude of mind in the context of the cold war which has divided the world into two

power blocs. In their Press statements and public utterances the emphasis has suddenly shifted to outright condemnation of the U. S. bloc. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammed, G. M. Sadiq and other leaders have been repeating in season and out of season charges of Anglo-American interference in the State politics which, however, remain yet to be substantiated by documentary or other evidence. It has been openly stressed that Kashmir will not be allowed to become a base of operations against Russia. That has been the burden of their speeches all through and continues unabated to this day.

In the early stages of Red ascendancy in Kashmir the Communists tactfully avoided any direct reference to Soviet Russia and Red China and other Communist countries. But as time passed on the mask went off their faces and they could not hide their cloaked partiality for Communism as represented by those countries. Kh. Ghulam Mohammed Sadiq's speech on December 20, 1953, before the National Conference workers throws ample light on their designs. According to a report of his speech published in the *Martand* of Srinagar in its issue of January 1, 1954, Mr. Sadiq said :

> "Imperialist Powers want to grab our country and browbeat our neighbours—Russia and China.....They want to turn Kashmir into a base for attack on Russia. The question arises as to why these Imperialist Powers design to invade Russia and China. It is because the working classes in these countries (Russia and China) have become strong and this is viewed with grave concern by Imperialist Powers fearing that the capitalist order in their countries might collapse."

A few days after in another speech Mr. Sadiq declared that Russia and China were peace-loving countries. In the light of his utterances and those of his other comrades it is not difficult to understand what the Kashmir Communists have in their mind.

During past six months National Conference conventions were held at Kulgam, Anantnag, Pulwama, Badgam, Shopian, Sopore and Srinagar. The speeches delivered, the resolutions passed and the slogans raised eloquently speak of the nature and purpose of these conventions. These were organised by Communists like G. M. Sadiq, Ghulam Mohammed Mir, Rishi

Dev, Manohar Lal Karihaloo and Abdul Rahman Rahat and the principal speakers at these gatherings were also the Reds. The slogans raised at the conventions were "Death to Anglo-American bloc". "No Western Plebiscite Administrator for Kashmir", and "Long Live Russia". The resolutions adopted contained nothing but calumniation of the Western Democracies.

To what extent the Communists in Kashmir have succeeded in their intrigues now is clear from what Khwaja Mohammed Umar Bhat, President of the Kashmir Peoples Conference and a vehement opponent of Pakistan, who was till recently a prominent leader of the National Conference, the ruling party, said in a recent statement. He observed :

> "On one hand our State is in the grip of unemployment and on the other the Communists are preparing to turn Kashmir into a cockpit of their intrigues. Taking undue advantage of the unemployment situation in the State they are trying to paint before the State people a rosy picture of conditions in Russia. They have secured important positions in the Government. We believe the Government is at their back. We ask the Government why Communists like Sardar Jaffari and others are allowed to deliver lectures in colleges here ?"

Need For Action

To sum up, the Red menace in Kashmir is today greater than it ever was. The Communists appear to be bent upon depriving the State people of the fruits of their labour spread over the past twenty-two years during which period they fought heroically against despotism, autocracy and slavery.

The fighters for freedom in Kashmir who have weathered many a storm in the past and who are opposed to totalitarianism and dictatorship are quite alive to the danger of Communism raising its head in the State. They are determined more than ever to fight the menace to the last man. That is why Communists have so far failed to gain the good-will and support of the masses in the State. However this should not lull lovers of freedom and democracy into any complacency. They should bear it in mind that if no immediate steps are taken to nip the evil Kashmir may be lost to Communism. It is, however, heartening to note in this connection that the democrats have once again risen to the occasion

and have re-activised themselves for the task of meeting the Communist danger.

On 28th October, 1953 a joint meeting of the Working Committee of the Kashmir Kisan Mazdoor Conference and the executive body of the Kashmir Socialist Party passed a resolution expressing extreme perturbation at the latest trend of events in the State and calling upon the State people to "meet the challenge thrown by the Communists". The resolution said :

> "Unfortunately the simple issue of accession of Kashmir brought the armies of India and Pakistan face to face with each other in the State. A full-scale war broke out as a result of which political and economic conditions in the State deteriorated. The uncertainty about the future born of the continued deadlock on the accession issue made conditions still worse. This afforded an opportunity to the Communists to make as much out of the disturbed conditions as they could. With democrats and freedom lovers suppressed they remained in the field free to do what they liked enjoying full support of the Nationalist Government in power".

Describing the growth of Communism in Kashmir after the establishment of the Bakhshi Government the resolution of the Kashmir Kisan Mazdoor Conference and the Kashmir Socialist Party stated :

> "Today, as a result of the patronage and open support of the Bakhshi Government the Communists have gained an importance in Kashmir to the disappointment of all democratic forces in the State. They have come into greater prominence. No decision affecting the future of the State is taken by either the National Conference or the Government unless Communists set the seal of their approval to it. It is the biggest challenge. Time has therefore come when something must be done to effectively stem the onrushing tide of Communism in this land of peace lovers."

The Kashmir Kisan Mazdoor Conference has directed its workers to organise stiffer resistance to Communism and cooperate with all democratic and liberal-minded elements in this task. It has appealed to democrats all over the world to help them in successfully combating the Red menace in Kashmir.

The Praja Parishad of Jammu, which in early days of the recent governmental crisis in the State had to extend its full

support to the Bakhshi Government because of their agreement and accord on the question of accession, had to modify its policy subsequently when it expressed anxiety at the infiltration of Communists in the State administration, In a public speech in Jammu, Pandit Prem Nath Dogra, the Parishad Chief, warned the State Government against the machinations of the Communists.

The Kashmir Democratic Union of Delhi has been alive to the Communist intrigues since its very inception. Indeed it is one of its principal aims to check the growth of totalitarian tendencies in the State politics. As far back as in 1950 the Union organised resistance cells in the whole State to counteract Communist propaganda in Kashmir. Thereafter the Union published a number of pamphlets and other literature giving a graphic picture of the situation in the State. One of the booklets entitled "RISE OF COMMUNISM IN KASHMIR" was distributed in thousands in the State as well as in India and Pakistan. During the last three years the organisation has passed a number of resolutions urging upon the United Nations to move swiftly and find a solution of the Kashmir accession issue implementing the free will of the people. Recently the Union appointed a Committee to report on the activities of Communists both in the Kashmir Government and outside. It has now sent a lengthy circular to all its branches in the State inviting their attention to the increasing influence of Communists in Kashmir. The circular details the steps to be taken to meet the danger.

Outside the State the Socialists and other democratic elements in India have also been voicing similar fears and apprehensions. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, general secretary of the Praja Socialist Party, was the first to raise the alarm in India. He was followed by Munshi Ahmad Din, another prominent Socialist leader, who has in a recent Press statement unmasked Communist intrigues in Kashmir.

That being so the supreme need of the hour, therefore, is to work unitedly to save Kashmir and the rest of the subcontinent from the evil influences of Communism. A concerted action in this connection is called for. It is of paramount importance

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that pressure be brought to bear upon India and Pakistan to find a speedy and amicable solution of the six-year-old Kashmir tangle; the inner working of the Bakhshi Government as also the real conditons prevailing at present in the State be brought to the notice of the world through the Indian and international Press and an effective plan formulated to fight Communism in the State.

Books you should read

THE HISTORY OF
STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM IN KASHMIR

Size: Demy octavo ; Cloth Bound ; Pages 764 ;
Price Rs. 20

"The book is divided in two parts, the first dealing with ancient and medieval times. The chapters describing the cultural achievements of Kashmiris in these periods are of outstanding importance; the subject is dealt with for the first time in any book. The second part deals with the last hundred years and includes a treatment of the recent dispute. It is an objective approach to the Kashmir problem, but by no means academic. A robust democratic and humanist faith permeates the discussion of current topics."

(*Information Bulletin*
I. H. E. A., London.)

INSIDE KASHMIR

Size: Crown octavo ; Pages 415 ; Price: Rs. 8 ;

"This book has helped me to understand, even better than I could, the situation in Kashmir."

(*Jawaharlal Nehru*)

"Throughout the book the author has succeeded in maintaining a refreshing sense of fairness and justice."

(*Modern Review*, Calcutta.)

AZAD KASHMIR

Size: Crown octavo ; Pages 160 ; Price: Rs. 3-8-0

"These pages breathe a spirit of sober idealism, cool and bold reasoning and utter sincerity."

(Ellen Roy in *Radical Humanist*, Calcutta.)

"An objective and dispassionate study of a subject which may cause a flare up any day."

(*Evening Times*, Karachi.)

The Naya Hindustan Press, Delhi